

APPENDIX A

Sub-Regions and Municipios of the Recôncavo

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Central Recôncavo:

Santo Amaro
São Francisco
São Sebastião
Cachoeira

Northern Recôncavo:

Coração de Maria
Irará
Alagoinhas

Northwestern Recôncavo:

Feira de Santana
São Gonçalo
Conceição da Feira
Santo Estêvão

Southwestern Recôncavo:

Muritiba
Cruz das Almas
Conceição do Almeida
São Filipe
São Félix

Eastern Recôncavo:

Catu
Pojuca

Southern Recôncavo:

Maragogipe
Itaparica
Salvador

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phrase one hears often but without further elucidation. Although there are many ruins of old town houses and plantations dotting the area and even the town streets, few people can tell anything about them or about their former illustrious owners.

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Almost no historical documents can be found in the town, as most of the old records have either been destroyed by insects and dampness or burned at intervals when there was no longer room for their storage, or else have come into private hands in small quantities. Most clerical records of the convent and mother church of the parish have disappeared, although undoubtedly some are stored in church archives in Salvador and Olinda (Pernambuco). Some information was obtained from the office of the justice of the peace, where records go back to 1800 and consist mostly of testaments and inventories and records of a few lawsuits involving property, including slaves.

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The community of Vila Recôncavo gives the impression of being a large private preserve. The town serves as contact point with the outside. Although the inhabitants of the community frequently leave it for business or visits, it is seldom that a stranger enters the area. There are no facilities in the town or in the rural area to care for one who has no family ties in the community. Going along the roads of the community one can identify practically everyone encountered, if not by name then at least as to where he is from. The higher a person's position on the social scale, the more likely he is to be known by name to a great part of the community. Strangers are probably someone's guests. But the appearance of an unidentified person alone gives cause for speculation.

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county seats, functions which they would still fulfill if they were farther removed from the state capital.

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Finally, and perhaps most important of all, there has been a population shift in the last half century. New centers of population and industry have appeared in the Recôncavo, and there has been a refocusing of commercial activity but no accompanying administrative reform. The old towns, such as Vila Recôncavo, have remained as county seats to carry on administrative duties and the pretense of being the center of municipal activity. Official statistics indicate a great predominance of rural inhabitants in the Recôncavo. Actually, however, much of the population lives in towns. Although these centers are not officially called towns, their pattern of living is urban and not rural. For example, the district of Riacho in the county of Purificação reported in the 1940 census 442 urban and suburban inhabitants, and 9,369 rural inhabitants. This gives no indication of the existence of a large factory town which contains almost nine thousand people.

The older towns may in the long run prove to be more permanent than the newer centers, which for the most part are factory towns, for it is possible that some day in the future the factories may close, causing a complete dislocation. In the meantime towns such as Vila Recôncavo are left out of the new developments, without industry or commerce except what can be done on a small scale, such as fishing or the weekly market. Still known as the formal centers of their counties or districts, they retain their local bureaucratic functions.

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Until the second half of the nineteenth century, the county was the principal community organization, and the town of Vila Recôncavo was the major center of attraction for its county. However, because of developments in the sugar industry, this older community structure began to change. These developments, which will be described in the next chapter, had the effect of further isolating the town of Vila Recôncavo from the main streams of life revolving about the sugar industry, which has always been the major feature of life in the Recôncavo. New developments in the industry caused new community alignments, the end results of which have been to leave the formal administrative centers, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, out of rural community life to a very great degree. In the next chapter the history of the rural area will be discussed, linking together the town and the rural area.

small empires, disappeared. But in his place an even more powerful figure appeared, the usineiro, the land-factory combination director and representative of corporate power.

However, not all private plantations succumbed to pressure from the factories or to economic collapse. There are many which still continue to plant and cultivate sugar cane and send it to the factory for milling. After 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol prescribed the amount of sugar cane each plantation, whether private or corporate, could produce, and indicated the total amount of sugar each factory could produce and how much cane it had to accept from each plantation. As a result of this protection, many private plantations continue to function in equilibrium with the factory to which they send their sugar cane. The private plantation owners also have a separate association which looks after their interests.

Thus the twentieth century has seen the introduction and development of the factory system and in its wake a series of fundamental changes. The growth of factory towns (the usina nuclei) has created further competition for the older county seats, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, and further disintegration of the former community structure.

Since its discovery and settlement, the rural area of Vila Recôncavo has been the scene of sugar-cane planting and sugar making. The rural area was settled before the town of Vila Recôncavo, and the plantation nuclei were actually self-sufficient small towns in themselves. The landowning pattern in this rural area has gone full cycle. First were the large land grants which were then split up into separate engenhos (after 1889 known as fazendas) through division due to inheritance, sale, or donation. For about three hundred years the pattern of the area was that of the engenho. However, at the end of the nineteenth century, this way of life came to an end as a result of financial crises and the abolition of slavery. The twentieth century has seen the introduction of the factory, which has led to a concentration of lands again under single ownership, although this time corporate and not that of a single individual or family.

During the epoch of the plantations there was a necessity for the existence of the town to serve the needs of the landowning class. The community during this time was focused to a large extent toward the county seat. But with the abolition of slavery, the disappearance of the plantation master and his large family, and the coming of the factory, the former com-

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munity structure began to break up. The corporations gradually acquired plantations which became commercial enterprises. The Big House was no longer the home of a master and the scene of his family life and social activities. The top level of the social strata partially disappeared, and those who were left to do the agricultural work looked now to the factory for their instructions and pay, to the new factory store for supplies, and to the chalet of the usineiro as the new senhor and patron. The owners of single plantations who joined the factory networks also began to look to the factory nucleus for social life, for buying supplies, and for selling their cane and receiving their money.

Thus each factory slowly became the focus of a new community structure, composed of the nucleus--the factory, the store, and the director's and workers' houses--surrounded by the corporation plantations, each of which still preserves the former plantation pattern of settlement, plus the private plantations, which are little changed in appearance from the days of the engenho. The factory towns, however, did not take over the formal functions of the county seats. In fact, rarely have factory towns received formal recognition as towns by the government. For the most part the factory nuclei appear on official records only as plantations.

Because of the growth of the factory and its surrounding network of plantations, the new community structures of the Recôncavo have taken on almost circular appearances. Vila Recôncavo demonstrates this well. In the spaces between the circles which represent factory systems, may be found the old formal administrative towns, with little of the influence or attraction that they once had. And yet they are bureaucratically important to the functioning of the county. As a result of this breakup of the old community structure, a process which is still going on, there is now no definite, clear-cut community center in Vila Recôncavo.

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[362] begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

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*249 There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

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* [249] The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more importance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

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[311] The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Milagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community-building efforts in the old public towns which already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged for the county, through taxes on the finished products from

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the refinery, namely gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, bottled gas, and other petroleum derivatives. As a result of the increased income, the county government will be able to build up the county seat considerably. A hospital is already being built, as well as a new dock for the boat which comes from the city.

In Milagres, located in the neighboring county, there is already a considerable movement for breaking away from the parent county and becoming a separate município, a common pattern in Brazil for districts which reach a certain population and degree of economic activity. Thus there are two possibilities for urban growth in the area and for the formation of urban centers which will attract the large rural population. The town of Vila Recôncavo is close to realizing other possibilities. The construction of a road from the town to Centro has already begun, filling a long-felt need. Its completion will make it possible for cars, buses, and trucks to come from Feira, on the edge of the sertão, to Centro, down through Vila Recôncavo to Milagres, and on into the city, shortening the long trip by the existing road which follows the edges of the Recôncavo. Such traffic would "put Vila Recôncavo on the map," and would greatly increase its contacts with the outside world. In addition, the possibilities of the introduction of a new crop to the community will bring increased commercial activity and a much greater tax income, enabling the county to build its own roads and bridges and to make other improvements for the development of the area.

Thus the community structure of Vila Recôncavo, which five years ago was in the process of crystallizing around the factory town, is now ripe for further change. The factory town continues for the present to be the major center, but the old county seat has all the possibilities of a rebirth of its former importance. In fact, because of the petroleum industry and the forthcoming changeover from sugar cane to cacao, the factory town is threatened as a community center, the position which it has only recently been consolidating.

Finally, one of the most important changes in Vila Recôncavo in these five years is a change in attitude on the part of the people. Vila Recôncavo was always known as a conservative community, maintaining its old traditions and ways, rejecting innovations. However, there is now an air of expectancy and a search for new ways and new things. Dissatisfaction with the sugar industry, combined with the appearance

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siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

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The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

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In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

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ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

[City of Salvador]

THE SEAPORT OF BAHIA

struggle of native labor versus foreign capital and thus tend to unify rather than to divide the local group. Religious competition has not become severe enough to intensify self-consciousness on the part of rival adherents and thus evoke serious animosities. As far as national affairs are concerned, intense local loyalties had not, at least at the time this study was made, been seriously exacerbated by onerous control from without. A minimum of racial conflict will be evident throughout this account.

THE *ricos* OF THE RIDGES AND THE *pobres*
OF THE VALLEYS

One of the things Darwin noted, when he visited Bahia in 1832, was that the city rested upon "a level plain of about three hundred feet in elevation, which in all parts has been worn into flat-bottomed valleys."¹ Today the scene is still much as Darwin saw it. Continuing erosion has merely emphasized the general characteristics of the landscape, transforming the once level plain somewhat more decidedly into alternating ridges, relatively steep declivities, and comparatively narrow valleys.

This physiography of the country has not been without significance in the cultural life of Bahia; for, in general, the distribution of the population by classes, and even to some extent by ethnic divisions, follows quite closely the lay of the land. Along the ridges, which wind with the changing terrain, ordinarily run the principal streets, bearing the chief lines of transportation, whether by streetcar, bus, or automobile. So far as accessibility to the center and other principal parts of the city is concerned, here are the more convenient residential locations. The elevation of the ridges,

¹ Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* ("Harvard Classics," Vol. XXIX (New York, 1909)), p. 521.

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mer, the filling of razor slashes with salt, the castration of males and the amputation of the breasts of females, and "murder at the slightest whim."⁴⁶ The custom of *novenas* and *trezenas* of slave beatings sometimes resulted in death.⁴⁷

In 1887 a police sergeant in a village in the interior of Bahia Province reported to the governor: "Considering the number of crimes on slaves in this section which continually go unpunished, this town of Formosa is in great need of at least five soldiers to be stationed here at the disposal of the local police official."⁴⁸ The *Diario da Bahia* of July 21, 1887, reports the discovery of a slave woman bearing about her neck a pronged iron collar "weighing twenty-five pounds, from which were suspended heavy chains wrapped about her body like serpents."

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Escapes were frequent, the fugitives being assisted by the character of the *mallo*. They were hunted by hired *capitães do mallo*, or "bush captains," usually Brazilian-born Negroes or mixed-bloods, whose trained dogs netted them a steady income.⁴⁹ Occasionally, fugitive slaves banded together in considerable numbers for mutual protection into *quilombos*.

⁴⁶ Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 561-63. For illustrations of instruments used to punish slaves, see Arthur Ramos, "Castigos de escravos," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (São Paulo), XLVII (May, 1938), 79-104.

⁴⁷ "Each day at a certain hour . . . the slave is stripped and tied to a post where he receives a certain number of blows which reopen wounds made on previous days. . . . This is done for periods of nine to thirteen days in accordance with the practices [religious ceremonies extending over a period of nine to thirteen days] of the church" (*ibid.*, p. 43 n.).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 673.

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⁴⁹ Still played by children at Bahia is the game "Capitão do mallo," a form of "hide and go seek" in which those hiding are presumed to be slaves and the hunter a "bush captain."

THE COMING OF THE AFRICANS

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The present town of Orobó,⁴⁰ approximately a hundred and fifty miles interior from the port of Bahia, is said to have had its origin in such a settlement.⁴¹ Even outlying areas of the city of Bahia like Matta Escura and Estrada da Liberdade, and the neighboring villages of Cabula, Armação, Pirajá, and Itapoan, are said to have had their origin in *quilombos*, dating from the colonial period. From these settlements there were frequent sallies of Negroes into the city to rob and to pillage. However, no *quilombo* in the state of Bahia

⁴⁰ The name has recently been changed to Ruy Barbosa.

⁴¹ On September 23, 1796, an investigation was ordered of complaints regarding the *quilombo* of Orobó. On April 6 of the following year this report was made (Silva, *op. cit.*, III, 227):

ILLUSTRIOUS AND ESTEEMED SIR:

There having been repeated requests on the part of certain *senhores de engenho* and owners of *fazendas* living in the vicinity of Orobó, district of the villa of Cachoeira, that there be destroyed a very old *quilombo* of fugitive slaves who have been wasting and destroying neighboring plantations and committing other excesses of great damage to the settlers, I ordered the *desembargador*, Juiz de Fora, of the same villa to find out if these reports were true, and if they were, to seek by all means possible to destroy this *quilombo*, using all prudence and care to avoid any fatal occurrence in the execution of the order, in view of the great distance between Cachoeira and that district, as well as our ignorance of the size of the *quilombo* which, according to some accounts, was not small. The necessity of collecting provisions, of enrolling and arming men . . . delayed for some time the execution of this order until, the complaints continuing and the people themselves offering to lend some aid and assistance, I ordered the *capitão-mor* of Entradas e Assaltos of the District of São José das Itapororocas, Severino Pa-reira, to organize an armed force and to destroy the *morambo*. This order was carried out in December of last year, the two *quilombos*, or *morambos*, known as Orobó and Andrah being destroyed. At these places were found fields of manioc, *inhame*, rice, fruit, and a little sugar cane, with all of which the inhabitants had easily been able to sustain themselves. Thirteen slaves were apprehended, among them men, women, and children, all of whom were delivered up to their respective masters. Previous to the arrival of the armed force, it is reported, a great number of slaves living there fled, for apparently they suspected, or perhaps were even aware of, the impending attack. As it appeared that they had fled to another *quilombo* called Tupim, farther off, I ordered that it similarly be destroyed, but I have not yet had notice whether such has been done. This is what I have to offer Your Excellency in reply to a letter directed to me and received on the 23rd of September of last year, urging me to undertake the most effective means of destroying the indicated *quilombos* and of relieving the settlers.

God guard Your Excellency.

Bahia, 6th of April, 1797. Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho.

D. FERNANDO JOSÉ DE PORTUGAL

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NEGROES IN BRAZIL

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621 equaled in size or in importance the famed Palmares of Alagoas.⁴¹

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567 It is a mistake, however, to conclude that humane and intimate relations between master and slave were by any means rare. In fact, they were in all likelihood, as we shall see in detail later, the general rule. The literature records numerous instances like that witnessed by John Codman in 1866, of which he says:

We drove up to the door of our Brazilian passengers. They were most boisterously welcomed by a troop of blacks. The pleasantest thing I had seen for some hours was the affection of these poor Negroes. Bright shone their eyes, and what a display was there of ivory! They fairly seized their mistress . . . in their arms, and "toted" her off into the house, hugging and kissing her, screaming and dancing as they went.⁴²

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175 "The famous "Negroes of the Palmares" (or "Palm Forests") were slaves who had escaped from Pernambuco before and particularly during the struggles of the Portuguese with the Dutch. Constantly acquiring recruits, they set up a series of crudely fortified villages scattered over some sixty leagues (about two hundred and forty miles). From these they harried the neighboring regions, taking from outlying *fazendas* both mates and slaves, among the former of which white women were occasionally to be found. They became so strong and so difficult to dislodge, that numerous expeditions sent out by the Dutch and later by the Portuguese served only to check for a time their growth—were unable for seventy years to destroy them completely. Only in 1697 were they finally subdued by an army from Recife led by a Paulista famed for success in such fighting and especially imported for this service, and then only after he had at first encountered serious reversals at their hands and their resistance had subsequently been broken by a failure of the food supply (Southey, *op. cit.*, III; 23-29). This Negro group had at times carried on trade with the whites, exchanging agricultural products for articles of manufacture. That they were seriously treated as an alien but respected group is attested by an exchange of peace commissioners during the governorship of Ayres Souza e Castro and the subsequent signing of a treaty of peace. (Incidentally, this treaty was never kept by the whites.) For a critical examination of the exaggerated reports of this erroneously labeled "Negro Republic" see Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-43.

⁴¹ John Codman, *Ten Months in Brasil* (Boston, 1867), p. 125.

[SALVADOR]

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829 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in
365 the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, however,

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*563 a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions.

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[443] It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when tension is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the beginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments.

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[579] But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

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*563 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards, Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

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771 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy: it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

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[SALVADOR]

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social cohesion of the community (1).

1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antagonism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

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798 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

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578 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

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